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Maryland

# HUMANITIES



*Chautauqua 2003*

## LET FREEDOM RING!

Featuring Susan B. Anthony, Frederick Douglass,  
Thomas Paine, and Franklin D. Roosevelt

July 5–14, 2003

Garrett College

Montgomery College—Germantown

The College of Southern Maryland

Chesapeake College

Cecil Community College

**FREE AND OPEN TO THE PUBLIC**

# *Welcome to Our Ninth Annual Chautauqua!*

Chautauqua (shuh – taw – kwa) takes its name from a lake in upstate New York, beginning in 1874 as a training course for Sunday School teachers. In 1878 the Chautauqua movement expanded its philosophy of adult education to include an appreciation for the arts and humanities. By 1904, Chautauqua took to the road as part of the Lyceum movement, bringing lectures and entertainers to towns across America. By 1930, radio, movies, and automobiles had made Chautauquas largely a thing of the past.

Reborn as a public humanities program in 1976, today's Chautauquas feature scholars who take on the persona of celebrated historical figures, educating and entertaining audiences as they bring the past to life again. Families gather for our Chautauqua under starry skies in a big open tent.

The theme for our 2003 Chautauqua is "Let Freedom Ring," featuring appearances by Susan B. Anthony, Frederick Douglass, Thomas Paine, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Please join us under the big top for a memorable week of *free* programs at Garrett College, Cecil Community College, the College of Southern Maryland, Chesapeake College, and Montgomery College—Germantown.

The Maryland Humanities Council wishes to thank the following institutions and people:

**Garrett College**

Stephen J. Herman, President

Sarah Gerichten and Stephen Schlosnagle, Planning Committee

**Cecil Community College**

W. Stephen Pannill, President

Michael Petkewec, Site Coordinator

Cecil County Public Library, Cecil County Commissioners, Polly Binns, Della Lied, Cheryl Kraus, Karen Decker, Dan Long, Charlene Conolly, Laurie Slifer Lopez, Alicia Watson, Erin Young, Pam Moran, Maryland State Highway Administration, North East Middle School  
Delegate David Rudolph, and Sandy Turner

**The College of Southern Maryland**

Elaine Ryan, President

Cathy Brooks, Donna Clark, Michelle Goodwin, Karen Johnson, Timothy Keating, John Maerhofer, Don Schramm, Emmitt Woodey, and the Wellness/Fitness Center

**Chesapeake College**

Stuart M. Bounds, President

Linda Tebbs, Chautauqua Site Coordinator

Marcie Alvarado-Molloy and Dick Petersen, Planning Committee

**Montgomery College—Germantown**

Hercules Pinkney, Vice President and Provost

Dale Johnson and Cynthia Ray, Site Coordinators

Myrna Goldenberg, Director, Paul Peck Humanities Institute

We also wish to thank Columbia Gas of Maryland, Lockheed Martin, the Choice Hotels International Foundation, the Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, and the National Endowment for the Humanities for their generous support for this project.

Peggy Burke  
*Executive Director*

*All caricatures by Tom Chalkley, Baltimore, Maryland*

# Garrett College

Garrett College is proud to serve as a host for the ninth year of the Maryland Humanities Council's annual Chautauqua. The four evenings of Chautauqua will be preceded by a concert with the Garrett Community Concert Band on Friday, July 4.



The Chautauqua program is a collaboration among Garrett College, the Garrett County Arts Council, and Garrett Lakes Arts Festival. Because of its location in a rural, resort environment, Garrett College integrates the natural resources with the academic curriculum. Signature programs include Adventure Sports, Agricultural Management, and Natural Resources and Wildlife Technology. The Garrett County Arts Council is located in Oakland where it operates a community art gallery. The Arts Council offers funding for nonprofit organizations involved in integrating the cultural arts into the life of the community. Garrett Lakes Arts Festival is based at the college. It is the largest presenter of performing arts in Garrett County, offering diverse cultural and artistic performances and arts education opportunities from March through November.

Dr. Stephen J. Herman, *President*

Mr. Stephen Schlosnagle, *GCAC Administrator*

Ms. Sarah Gerichten, *GLAF Executive Director*

Friday, July 4	7:30pm	Independence Day Concert by the Garrett Community Concert Band, followed by fireworks from the mountaintop at Wisp
Saturday, July 5	7:00pm	Choral Music by the Garrett County Choral Society <b>An Evening with Thomas Paine, by Carol Peterson</b>
Sunday, July 6	7:00pm	Newgrass-influenced Acoustic Music by Randy Struble <b>An Evening with Frederick Douglass, by Bill Grimmette</b>
Monday, July 7	7:00pm	Music by Sarah Gerichten <b>An Evening with Susan B. Anthony, by Annette Baldwin</b>
Tuesday, July 8	7:00pm	Vocal Music by the High Street Barbershop Quartet <b>An Evening with Franklin D. Roosevelt, by Ed Beardsley</b>

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650 by June 25, 2003. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Garrett College Auditorium.

Directions to Garrett College: Take exit 14A off I-68. Follow 219 South to McHenry and turn left at Mosser Road. For Garrett College information, call the Garrett Lakes Arts Festival at 301-387-3082. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.



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# College of Southern Maryland



The College of Southern Maryland welcomes you and your family to our La Plata Campus for Chautauqua 2003. CSM is a regional community college serving Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's counties. Our outstanding faculty and staff are committed to identifying and meeting the demands of our local and global learners by offering a mix of courses —

including Web-based courses and telecourses — and a wide range of associate degree programs, certificates, letters of recognition, and continuing education courses.

In addition to its academic excellence, CSM has a long history of support of the humanities. The Southern Maryland Studies Center has served the community for more than 20 years as an archive of local history and a vital source for family and scholarly research. Most recently, a collaboration with Jefferson-Patterson Park and the Banneker-Douglass Museum resulted in preservation of the history and artifacts of the African-American schools in the region.

We hope you enjoy all of our cultural programs and offerings at the college and look forward to seeing you again as you explore all of the possibilities that learning for life has to offer at the College of Southern Maryland.

Dr. Elaine Ryan, *President*

Monday, July 7	7:00pm	Period Music by David and Ginger Hildebrand <b>An Evening with Thomas Paine, by Carol Peterson</b>
Tuesday, July 8	7:00pm	Dixieland Jazz by Unnatural Ax <b>An Evening with Frederick Douglass, by Bill Grimmette</b>
Wednesday, July 9	7:00pm	Acoustic Duo by Eric Scott <b>An Evening with Susan B. Anthony, by Annette Baldwin</b>
Thursday, July 10	7:00pm	Barbershop Music by the Southern Mix <b>An Evening with Franklin D. Roosevelt, by Ed Beardsley</b>

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650 or the CSM Learning Assistance Center at 1-800-933-9177 by June 25, 2003. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Fine Arts Center Theatre. Bring a picnic (no alcoholic beverages permitted on college grounds) and a blanket. Seating in chairs also available. College Store and Ice Cream Corner open until 9 PM.

Directions to the College of Southern Maryland: From the intersection of Route 5 and Route 301, travel south on Route 301 approximately six miles to the traffic light at Mitchell Road. Turn right on Mitchell Road, and proceed approximately two miles to the main entrance of the college. For College of Southern Maryland information, call 301-934-7766. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.



# Chesapeake College

Chesapeake College is delighted to host Chautauqua again this year. As part of our mission, the college seeks to preserve the rich cultural heritage of the Chesapeake Bay Region. The college houses an extensive collection of documents and artifacts relating to the region, and the Chesapeake College Press publishes occasional works about the Eastern Shore.



Founded in 1965, Chesapeake College serves the large, five-county area of the Upper Eastern Shore. It offers a full range of career and transfer programs, non-credit classes, and customized training at the college's three sites at Wye Mills, Easton, and Cambridge; in many off-campus sites; and through the distance learning network. With the opening of the Center for Business and the Arts, the Wye Mills campus has become the region's economic and cultural center, and the college now hosts the Higher Education Center offering upper division and graduate level programs through a consortium of colleges and universities on the Shore.

As we actively engage in planning for the region's exciting future, it is a wonderful time to examine Maryland's past. We hope you enjoy Chautauqua 2003 and leave our campus with a greater appreciation of our State's and the Shore's rich history.

Dr. Stuart M. Bounds, *President*

Monday, July 7	7:00pm	Songs of Freedom by Dana Bowser <b>An Evening with Frederick Douglass, by Bill Grimmette</b>
Tuesday, July 8	7:00pm	Common Sense Brass Selections by the Chestertown Brass Quintet <b>An Evening with Thomas Paine, by Carrol Peterson</b>
Wednesday, July 9	7:00pm	Swing and Sway by Denise Carlson <b>An Evening with Franklin D. Roosevelt, by Ed Beardsley</b>
Thursday, July 10	7:00pm	All That Jazz by Tom Anthony with Denise Carlson <b>An Evening with Susan B. Anthony, by Annette Baldwin</b>

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650 by June 25, 2003. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Chesapeake Performing Arts Center.

Directions to Chesapeake College: Chesapeake College is located at the intersection of U.S. 50 and U.S. 213 on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 14 miles east of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. For Chesapeake College information, call 410-827-5867. For more information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.

# Montgomery College—Germantown



We are pleased to welcome our friends and neighbors to the Montgomery College—Germantown Campus for the 2003 visit by the Chautauqua. This year is special to the College because we are celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the dedication of the Germantown Campus. Chautauqua 2003 is one of the highlights of an exciting and inspiring series of activities to celebrate the campus' quarter century of education, training, and service to the community.

The campus has a robust pre-transfer array of courses for students who come to us from over 160 countries. It is located along the I-270 High Technology Corridor and offers programs of note in computer sciences, biotechnology, robotics, computer graphics, technical writing, and other technology-based training. These courses are strengthened by the resources of Montgomery College's Paul Peck Humanities Institute, shared with the Smithsonian Institution, the Macklin Business Institute, and the Montgomery Scholars Program.

We are the community's college. As such, we are a place for intellectual, cultural, social, and political dialogue. We encourage intellectual development through our commitment to the humanities and the arts. Thank you for sharing an exciting evening with us here on the Germantown campus.

Dr. Hercules Pinkney, *Vice President and Provost*

Tuesday, July 8	7:00pm	Original Poetry of life and freedom read by Donald Marbury <b>An Evening with Susan B. Anthony, by Annette Baldwin</b>
Wednesday, July 9	7:00pm	Original Poetry of life and freedom read by Donald Marbury <b>An Evening with Frederick Douglass, by Bill Grimmette</b>
Thursday, July 10	7:00pm	Period Music by David and Ginger Hildebrand <b>An Evening with Thomas Paine, by Carol Peterson</b>
Friday, July 11	7:00pm	Period Music by Mary Sue Twohy <b>An Evening with Franklin D. Roosevelt, by Ed Beardsley</b>
Saturday, July 12	1:00pm	"Ideas of Freedom" Reading/Discussion with Professor Whit Ridgway of the University of Maryland High Technology and Science Center, Room 216

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650 by June 25, 2003. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in Globe Hall.

Directions to Montgomery College—Germantown: From I-270 take exit 15A East (Route 118). Continue to traffic light at Observation Drive and turn right. For Montgomery College information, call 301-353-7700. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.

# Cecil Community College

Welcome to all our friends and neighbors to this year's Chautauqua! All of us here at Cecil Community College are pleased to continue this glorious salute to history and tradition for a third year. Cecil County is proud of its own rich history and Chautauqua 2003 allows us to honor that spirit of celebration.



C E C I L  
COMMUNITY  
COLLEGE

Cecil Community College is Cecil County's only institution of higher education. Offering opportunities and activities that educate and inform our community is primary to our mission. As Maryland's fastest growing community college, we will continue to evolve in order to meet the needs of our community. Cecil Community College programs such as Nursing, Visual Communications, Business, Computer Information Systems, and the Mid-Atlantic Transportation and Logistics Institute are leaders in the industry in training and resource information. We continue to strengthen our commitment to student success by providing the necessary training and education to face the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Everyone at Cecil Community College appreciates your attendance at this year's Chautauqua and lets us know you honor the past, engage in the present, and support the future.

Dr. W. Stephen Pannill, *President*

Tuesday, June 10	7:00pm	Discussion of Miriam Grace Monfredo's <i>Seneca Falls Inheritance</i> with Marie LeBerge. Cecil County Public Library, Elkton.
Tuesday, June 24	7:00pm	Discussion of Frederick Douglass's <i>Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass</i> with Sue Fox. Cecil County Public Library, Elkton.
Friday, July 11	7:00pm	Classical Piano by Michelle-Lee Harris <b>An Evening with Frederick Douglass, by Bill Grimmette</b>
Saturday, July 12	7:00pm	Period Folktales and Stories by Ed Okonowicz <b>An Evening with Thomas Paine, by Carol Peterson</b>
Sunday, July 13	7:00pm	Music of the Times by the LadyFingers <b>An Evening with Susan B. Anthony, by Annette Baldwin</b>
Monday, July 14	7:00pm	American Bluegrass by Dean Sapp <b>An Evening with Franklin D. Roosevelt, by Ed Beardsley</b>

All sites are handicapped accessible. For more information on the Reading/Discussion series, contact the Cecil County Public Library at 410-996-5600. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650 by June 25, 2003. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Milburn Stone Memorial Theatre.

Directions to Cecil Community College: From I-95 take exit 100. At end of ramp, turn left onto 272N towards Rising Sun. At first light turn right. For Cecil Community College information, call 410-287-1000. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.



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Maryland

## HUMANITIES

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## What Is the Maryland Humanities Council?

For almost thirty years, the Maryland Humanities Council has brought the humanities to the people of Maryland, bringing citizens and humanities scholars together to learn from one another. They discuss the passages and problems that all human beings share. They learn how different communities of people have dealt with their common problems throughout history.

In addition to our Chautauqua, the Council offers many free programs to nonprofit organizations and Marylanders throughout the state:

**Maryland Humanities.** The Council's magazine is published three times a year and focuses on Maryland history and culture. It is sent free of charge to over 15,000 homes, businesses, organizations, schools, and libraries throughout the state.

**Grants.** The Council awards grants to support high quality, public humanities projects, including exhibitions, film documentaries, seminars, community history programs, reading groups, and teacher-training. More than 40 grants, ranging from \$1,200 to \$10,000, are awarded annually to grassroots and large organizations throughout Maryland.

**Maryland Online Encyclopedia.** With a coalition of statewide partners, the Council is leading the effort to establish an online encyclopedia covering Maryland's rich and diverse history and culture. This significant resource would be freely available through the web and is tentatively scheduled to launch in 2006.

**Maryland History Day.** This engaging, year-long education program for grades 6 through 12 involves more than 7,000 students as active learners in the process of discovery and in the interpretation of historical topics. Through this investigative teaching model, students produce dramatic performances, imaginative exhibits, multi-media documentaries, and interpretive papers based upon research related to an annual theme.

**Speakers Bureau.** Through this program, the Council sends free speakers into local communities to speak to nonprofit groups and institutions. The presenters are humanities scholars and their topics range from "Islam: Religion and Culture" to "Blind Justice? Legal Traditions Around the World" to "The Baltimore Orioles and the Emerald Age of Baseball." A complete listing is available on our website.

**Family Matters.** This innovative program brings at-risk families together to discuss the ideas in books they have read over a light supper one evening each week for six weeks.

**Website.** The Council's website — [www.mdhc.org](http://www.mdhc.org) — provides information on the Council's mission and programs, Speakers Bureau catalog, monthly calendar of events, links to related sites, and grant guidelines.

**Update.** Our twice-yearly newsletter provides the latest information about our programs and those of the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is also sent to our entire mailing list.

For more information about the Maryland Humanities Council and its programs, call 410-771-0650 or visit us on the web at [www.mdhc.org](http://www.mdhc.org).



# A Tradition of Ringing the Liberty Bell: Freedom and the United States

By Todd Foley

The theme of this year's Chautauqua — freedom — is a touchstone of American culture and ideology. While the Declaration of Independence proclaims "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," fulfilling the promise of this bold vision has been a halting, unsteady, and sometimes bloody endeavor. Each of the characters in this year's Chautauqua — Thomas Paine, Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt — played a significant role in advancing freedom, whether at home or abroad.

Thomas Paine was a product of the age of the Enlightenment, when scientists and thinkers rigorously applied reason and logic to all the sciences — chemistry, physics, biology, and economics, as well as politics. Political philosophers such as John Locke and David Hume considered the English political system to be a model for the world, providing the greatest balance between liberty and power.

In the mid-1700s, most Americans would have agreed with Locke and Hume that the British empire was the freest society in the world, despite the enslavement of Africans and the existence of aristocracy. Consequently, when the British Parliament imposed taxes on Americans, they protested vociferously, crying "No taxation without representation!" and dumping tea into Boston harbor.

It was in the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party that Thomas Paine came to America. After war

broke out with Britain, Paine wrote *Common Sense*, urging Americans to fight for their freedom, noting that "[t]his New World hath been an asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe." This bestselling pamphlet pushed Americans to declare independence in 1776.

Paine's radical egalitarianism found an audience not only in revolutionary America, but also in revolutionary France, where he moved in the 1790s. Initially sympathetic to the French Revolution, many Americans became alarmed by its growing radicalism. As a result, Paine's popularity in the United States plummeted. He sealed his fate with an attack on the venerable Washington in 1802.

Even as Paine faded from the scene in the early nineteenth century, America was changing. Industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and religious revivalism combined with the spreading market economy to transform life. The upheavals prompted many Americans to become introspective, questioning if the United States was fulfilling its promise of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all people. Many believed it was not and embarked on numerous reform movements. The reforms ranged from radical efforts to remake society in utopian communities to more conservative attempts to improve institutions such as schools and prisons and to reform individuals by promoting temperance. The reformers, including Frederick Douglass and Susan B. Anthony, also sought to extend freedom to those who lacked it — African Americans and women.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, slavery remained firmly entrenched in the Southern states. Abolitionists such as Douglass roused the public through speeches, writings, and anti-slavery publications such as Garrison's *The Liberator* and Douglass's *The North Star*. Fiction proved even more powerful: Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, supposedly based on the life of a Maryland slave, introduced many Northerners to the horrors and brutality of slavery. By whatever means available, the abolitionists worked to fundamentally reform American society by assuring freedom for African Americans. In the end, however, it took a tragic and bloody civil war and three constitutional amendments to end slavery and provide African Americans with some rights.

Like the struggle for African American freedom, the fight for women's rights also originated in the colonial period. In 1648, Mistress Margaret Brent unsuccessfully demanded the right to vote in Maryland's colonial Assembly. More than a century later, Abigail Adams admonished her husband John to "Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation." Despite these early advocates, the women's rights movement did not gain wider support until the early nineteenth century.

At the time, the "cult of domesticity" was the prevailing ideal for women, and it strictly confined



women's roles to rearing children and running the home. Women should display piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness. Home and family became their sphere, while the outside world was the realm of men. However, in the interests of protecting their children and homes, middle-class women became involved in various reform movements, including women's rights.

Many of the leading advocates for women's rights such as Susan B. Anthony also fought to end slavery. In the decade before the Civil War, many of these women concentrated their efforts on the abolition movement, believing that women's rights were inextricably linked to rights for African Americans. Consequently, the post-Civil War Fifteenth Amendment — which only assured that voting rights could not be denied based on race — dealt a serious blow to the women's movement, leaving women without a constitutional right to vote.

Anthony and her colleagues regrouped but for many decades met with little success as an exhausted America turned away from reform. A younger generation of suffragists joined forces with the Progressives in another cycle of reform in the

early twentieth century; they finally achieved success in 1920 with the ratification of the nineteenth amendment, granting women the right to vote.

World War I was the culmination of twenty years of growing American involvement in the world. For the first century of its existence, the United States had largely followed George Washington's advice to remain clear of entangling foreign alliances. The Spanish-American War in 1898 changed this overnight. The United States won control of territories spread around most of the world. Progressive Presidents like Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson saw America as a model for people around the world and considered it America's duty to spread freedom and democracy around the world.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's vision for the post-World War II world grew out of this earlier ideal. For Roosevelt, World War II was not only about stopping the forces of tyranny, but also about spreading the virtues that come with free and open societies. For the United States, one of the war's overall goals was securing democracy throughout the world. Roosevelt's "four freedoms" would be, he hoped, the ideological underpinnings for a

permanent peace and a better world. It was a vision of enormous appeal for people around the world who struggled under dictatorships and other anti-democratic governments. As the Cold War followed on the heels of World War II, Roosevelt's ideology provided part of the impetus for the military fight against communist tyrannies, most notably in Korea and Vietnam.

In American society, the idea of "freedom" is a powerful and motivating idea. Pamphleteers, reformers, and Presidents have used this elusive concept as a rallying point for extraordinary achievements. It promises to continue to be an unequalled force in shaping American actions and opinion both domestically and internationally.

### Suggested Readings

Foner, Eric. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.

Hakim, Joy. *Freedom: A History of US*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Weinstein, Allen and David Rubel. *The Story of America: Freedom and Crisis from Settlement to Superpower*. New York: DK Publishing, 2002.



Todd Foley is a graduate of Northern High School in Garrett County and a freshman at Ohio's Oberlin College. He has attended the Chautauqua every year since it started in Garrett County in 1995, when his mother, a third-grade teacher at Southern Elementary School, got him interested in the program. Todd researched and wrote this article during a winter internship project at the Council, and he is currently pursuing his interests in Classics, creative writing, and music.

# Thomas Paine: Freedom as Common Sense

By Carrol D. Peterson

When he published *Common Sense* in Philadelphia in January of 1776, Thomas Paine identified himself simply as "an Englishman." The work's powerful plea for freedom and independence made it an instant success. *Common Sense* ultimately sold half a million copies — nearly every literate resident of the thirteen soon-to-be states must have had a copy. "America made me an author," Paine later acknowledged.

Paine's earlier life yields no clear reasons for his defiant assertion in *Common Sense* that "government, even in its best state is but a necessary evil." His boyhood in Thetford, Norfolk, England, was no doubt dull and frustrating to a rebellious spirit, and his Quaker father and Anglican mother may have done little to feed Paine's yearnings. He ran away to sail on a privateer, rather than pursue his father's corset-making business. Later, he was, with equal lack of success, a corset-maker, a tobacco-nist, a husband (twice), and an excise tax collector. As chosen representative of his fellow collectors, Paine wrote an unsuccessful appeal to Parliament for higher wages, and was fired for the second time. In late 1774, he took Benjamin Franklin's advice to go to America. His experiences in England may have disappointed him, but there is nothing in them to indicate how fully Paine's temperament would match the spirit of rebellion and independence which was waiting for expression in America.

In *Common Sense*, Paine demonstrated his command of invective as well as his ear for memorable phrases — George III was "the

Royal Brute of Great Britain," and a "hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh." Conciliation did not fit the rhetoric of Paine as easily as passionate pleas and enthusiastic visions did:

*O! Ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! Receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.*

And:

*We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation, similar to the present, hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men, perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the events of a few months.*

George Washington noted in April 1776 that America would "come reluctantly to the idea of independence," but that "by private letters which I have lately received from Virginia, I find Paine's *Common Sense* is working a wonderful change there in the minds of men." The book worked such change throughout the colonies that the Declaration of Independence was unanimously approved by the Continental Congress the following July.

The Declaration was just the beginning. Five long years of war followed before the defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. The early stages of that war were mostly filled

with defeats for the American army under Washington. Again, it was Thomas Paine who rallied the spirits of the Revolution. *The American Crisis*, a series of sixteen pamphlets published from 1776 to 1783, again and again revived the flagging revolutionaries. The first and most famous one began with "These are the times that try men's souls . . . ." It was read to the troops just before Washington's famous crossing of the Delaware River and his pivotal victory at Trenton. Paine succeeded in persuading readers that the very difficulty of the war was proof of its importance as "Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered." On April 19, 1783, the eighth anniversary of Lexington and Concord, Paine's last *Crisis* paper announced that "The times that tried men's souls are over — and the greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew, gloriously and happily accomplished." But the task of creating a truly United States of America lay ahead.

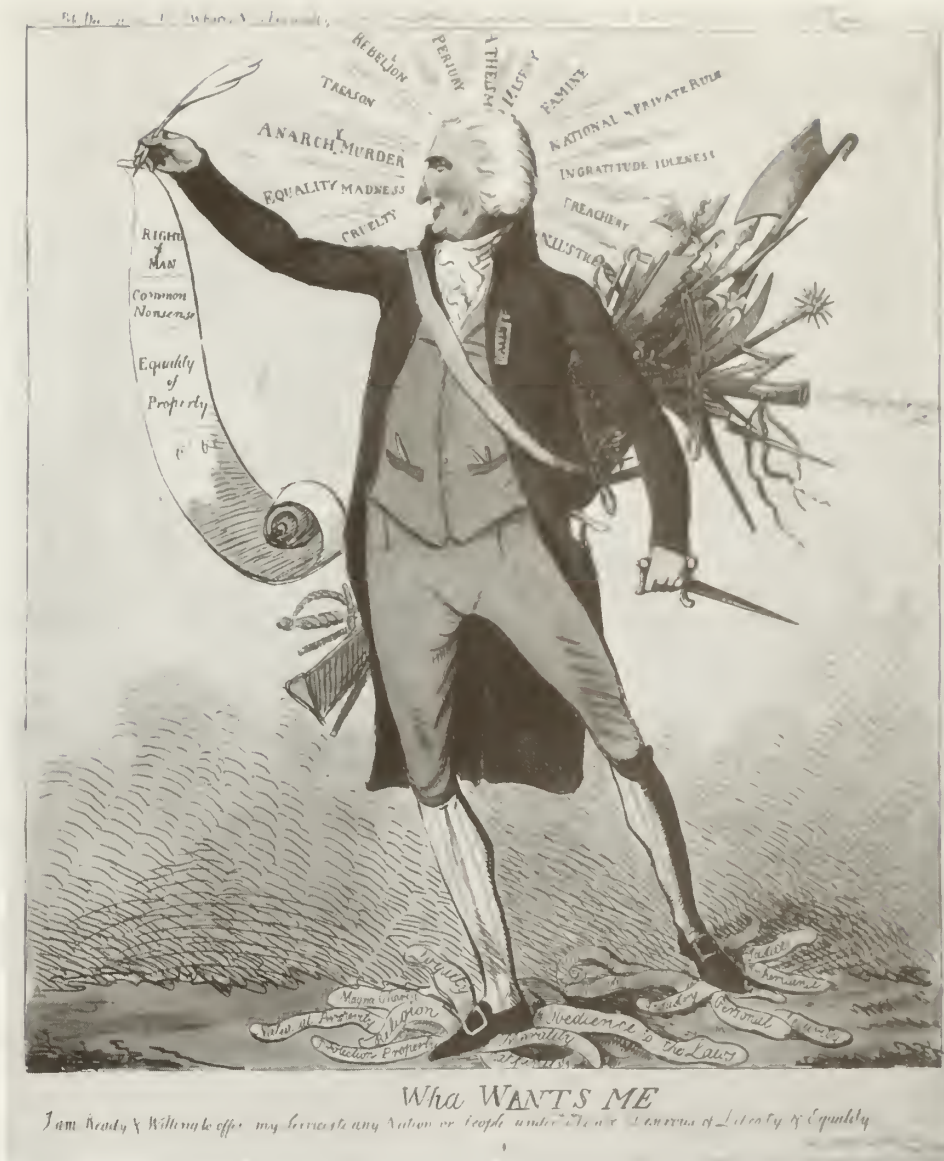
Paine continued to emphasize the importance of a strong "union of the states," but he opposed the Constitution's single-person executive and its long term for senators. He enumerated these points in his hostile *Letter to Washington* (1802), published just before Paine returned from his fifteen-year stay in France. Paine preferred a government with a diffuse executive branch, no president, and more frequent election of legislators. He favored a nation strongly united against potential enemy nations, but a nation with little power over its own people. He believed that government was a danger to "the rights of man."



*The Rights of Man*, written in 1791 and 1792, is partly Paine's account of developments in the French Revolution, which he proudly viewed as inspired by the American Revolution, and partly a theoretical defense of the idea of "rights." Paine, like Thomas Jefferson, saw a distinction between natural and civil rights. The former were within the power of every individual who was unimpeded by external force or coercion, and included "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." Civil rights, according to Paine, were granted by the society in which one lived, and included property rights.

Paine wrote *The Rights of Man* to answer Englishman Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which asserted the importance of hereditary and traditional social institutions and classes and denounced the French Revolution. Burke and Paine had been amiable friends during the American Revolution, but events in France revealed how different their views really were. Burke denied the idea of inherent rights. Paine claimed that Burke simply transferred the idea of rights to our ancestors, "in whom they did exist, are dead, and with them the right is dead also."

Later, in *Agrarian Justice* (1796), Paine elaborated on a plan which would preserve property inheritance rights, but at a price — those who were not born into property would be compensated with a small subsidy granted at age twenty-one and a small annual income beginning at age fifty. Both were to be funded by taxation. Though he proposed such a plan, Paine's radical view of the dispensability of



An English anti-Paine cartoon from 1792. His backpack is full of knives, axes, and pikes which are labeled "Levelling Instruments," while the thoughts emanating from his head include treason, treachery, famine, misery, atheism, and "Equality Madness." He is also trampling on morality, Magna Charta, justice, religion, and national prosperity. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

institutions remained clear in this work. At one time he even conjectured that every generation should totally reconsider its institutions — almost a kind of permanent revolution.

*The Age of Reason* (1794-5) is the work that later prompted Theodore Roosevelt to call Paine a "filthy little atheist." The book, however, was Deistic, not atheistic, and was a product of Paine's belief in reason as the guiding force in society. At the outset of the book, in fact,

Paine asserted "I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life." Nevertheless, the book severely attacked Christianity — or, at least, Bible-based Christianity (though not Jesus, whom Paine honored as an exemplary man). Paine pointed out the contradictions he found in the Bible, classifying it with heathen mythologies as a collection of stories and assertions which need testing by other means. Paine asked who said the Bible was the "word



of God," and answered that "no-body can tell, except that we tell one another so." He insisted that this belief was first hypocritically promulgated by the "Church Mythologists." He then proceeded to attack the idea of faith in Biblical miracles and revelation, for

*It is a contradiction in terms and ideas, to call anything a revelation that comes to us as second-hand, either verbally or in writing. Revelation is necessarily limited to the first communication — after that it is only an account of something which that person says was a revelation made to him; and though he may find himself obliged to believe it, it cannot be incumbent on me to believe it in the same manner; for it was not a revelation made to me, and I have only his word for it that it was made to him.*

The attack upon Christianity in *The Age of Reason* and the angry *Letter to Washington* sealed Paine's notoriety in his later years. Already in 1791, English historian George Chalmers had written a negative biography about the author of "seditious" writings, with a title page showing Paine hawking his *Rights of Man* to monkeys. James Cheetham published another anti-Paine biography just before Paine's death.

Legend has it that only six people attended his 1809 funeral at his farm at New Rochelle, New York. He requested a simple inscription on

his tomb which said only that he was the author of *Common Sense*, the book that, more than any other, began the American search for freedom.



*Thomas Paine. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

### Suggested Readings

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<http://www.thomas-paine.com>

This site, internet home for the Thomas Paine National Historical Association, has an archive of Thomas Paine's works as published by Moncure Conway. It has the complete biography by Conway, as well as other biographies and commentaries. It also provides links to other Thomas Paine websites.



### Meet Carrol Peterson (Thomas Paine)

Carrol D. Peterson has a Ph.D. in English from the University of Arkansas, and is Professor Emeritus at Doane College, Nebraska. He traveled in summers from 1989 to 1997 with the Great Plains Chautauqua, where he first performed as Thomas Paine. He has created other one-person shows about literary figures Walt Whitman, Jack London, and James Thurber. He currently lives in Princess Anne, Maryland, where his wife is head of archives at the Frederick Douglass Library of the University of Maryland — Eastern Shore.

## Timeline: Thomas Paine

- 1737 Born on January 29 in Thetford, England.
- 1750–1774 Worked at various jobs in England, the last being as excise tax collector.
- 1759 Married Mary Lambert, who died in 1760.
- 1771 Married Elizabeth Ollive, a tobacconist's daughter, apparently to join her in maintaining her deceased father's business. This marriage may have been merely a legal convenience and never consummated. Elizabeth remained in England when Paine went to America, and few in America knew of the marriage.
- 1774 Sailed to America, bearing from Benjamin Franklin a letter of introduction as "an ingenious, worthy, young man." This resulted in his employment in 1775 as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*.
- 1776 Published *Common Sense* in January and served in the army. In December, he published the first of his *American Crisis* pamphlets.
- 1776–1783 Continued periodic publication of *Crisis* pamphlets until the American Revolution ended.
- 1781 Went to France with John Laurens to obtain aid for the American Revolution.
- 1783 Given a farm by the State of New York, in gratitude for his support of the Revolution.
- 1784–1787 Invented an arched iron bridge, which he tried to sell in the United States, England, and eventually France.
- 1790 Sent Washington the keys to the Bastille with the comment that they were "the first fruits of the seeds of liberty" which America had furnished Europe.
- 1791–1792 Published the first and second parts of *The Rights of Man*.
- 1792–1794 Joined the French National Assembly and attempted to prevent the execution of Louis XVI. Imprisoned for ten months during "The Terror," and finally freed by the intercession of James Monroe.
- 1793–1796 Wrote (partly in prison) and published *The Age of Reason* in two parts. Wrote and published his hostile *Letter to Washington*. Published *Agrarian Justice*, advocating old-age pensions and compensatory funding of those without inheritance.
- 1802 Returned to the United States.
- 1809 Died at his farm on June 8, having suffered a stroke in 1806.



# Frederick Douglass:

## A Ringleader for Freedom

By Bill Grimmette

In 1818, when Frederick Douglass was born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey in Talbot County, Maryland, freedom rang hollow for many in America. The Constitution and its Bill of Rights proclaimed words of freedom around the world; yet, in the United States, millions were untouched by those words. Young Frederick Bailey was just one among them. The slaves of Holme Hill Farm on Tuckahoe Creek were treated as property, enslaved for life.

Also in 1818, what would become known as the Liberty Bell turned sixty-six. Its ring, too, had been muffled since birth. As the great bell arrived in Philadelphia in September 1752, a huge crack appeared, rendering it silent. Although it was repaired to regain its sonorous peal, this symbol of freedom and Frederick Douglass have an interesting relationship — both Douglass and the Liberty Bell would become potent symbols in the Abolitionist movement.

For the first twenty years of his life, Frederick Bailey had “no rights a white man was bound to respect,” as fellow Marylander and United States Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney would declare in 1857. Yet he was surrounded by those who possessed all rights, even over life and death. It did not take long for this intelligent child to note this contradiction and to use it to his ultimate advantage. With no formal schooling to enlighten him, young Douglass quickly came to understand power and its use.

When slave elders taught that the slaves’ station was this diminished condition of life, Douglass under-



*Samuel J. Miller photograph of Frederick Douglass, taken between 1847 and 1852. Major Acquisitions Centennial Endowment 1996.433, reproduction, the Art Institute of Chicago.*

stood that to change his condition meant a change in his station.

When the master’s children were given books which were denied to slaves on pain of death, Frederick decided that books were a source of power and reading was the key to accessing them. Even in punishment, young Frederick found lessons. Slaves were whipped, he noticed, for doing things to their benefit and rewarded for things benefiting the master. “What was good for the master,” his young mind reasoned, “was bad for the slave and what was good for the slave was bad for the master.” This was the great turning point in his life, as Frederick Douglass learned to focus on the contradictions of

power. The slave quarters had become young Frederick’s first school.

When he was twelve, Douglass was “hired out” to Hugh and Sophia Auld of Baltimore to be a companion to their young son. The position resembled that of a “favorite pet,” but because of his keen intellect, Douglass turned three Baltimore experiences to his considerable advantage. First, upon his arrival, Sophia Auld smiled at him and touched his face. It was “the first time I had seen a slave owner smile at seeing a slave,” Douglass recalled. This reception encouraged him to ask her to teach him to read, which she did. Hugh Auld, learning of this “illegal sacrilege,” scolded Sophia fiercely, as “to teach a slave to read will make him unfit for slavery forever.” Mr. Auld’s admonition made Douglass even more determined to learn how to read.

Later, Douglass returned to Baltimore and hired himself out for wages. While working on the docks at Fells Point, he tricked his fellow workers into furthering his education in reading by saying, “I’ll bet I can read better than you.” When the proud Irish workers jumped at the challenge, Frederick said, “You go first,” thereby stealing their knowledge while losing the bet. Douglass’s familiarity with the maritime industry helped him to escape in 1838; at the age of twenty, Frederick fled the bonds of slavery for the ring of freedom.

When Douglass was born, slavery was a well-entrenched institution in the United States. The Missouri



Compromise of 1820 provided that new states admitted into the Union below the southern line of Missouri would enter as slave states, but those above would be free states. The voices opposing the expansion of slavery and the institution itself grew louder in the early 1830s. This prompted Congress to create the “gag rule” in 1836, which tabled all anti-slavery petitions without any discussion. Former President John Quincy Adams led the charge to eliminate the gag rule, but his arguments were unpersuasive. Yet, his words fell on one set of ears who would heed them well. One word in his pleas — abolition — surfaced time and again to make slave owners shiver and slaves rejoice.

Once north of the Mason-Dixon Line, Frederick changed his name. Names reflect the central character in life stories and Frederick had changed his story and so needed a new character. He initially chose Johnson but was told that was too common among fugitives. Then he was told about a Scots-Irish Clan of Douglas made famous in the poem, “The Lady of the Lake.” Frederick learned that the Douglasses were a fierce, warrior clan who fought valiantly, so he adopted that name.

At the same time that Frederick Douglass was becoming accustomed to his new moniker, the Great Bell of Philadelphia was about to be reborn. In 1839, an abolitionist poet christened the magnificent symbol of freedom, “The Liberty Bell.” It became a symbol of freedom for slaves and was widely promoted by the abolitionists.

Frederick Douglass and the Liberty Bell were simultaneously reborn and figuratively conjoined to stand for freedom.

Douglass had read quite extensively for a slave, yet he could not be mistaken for an educated man. Nevertheless, when abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison prevailed upon him to relate the story of his slave experience, Douglass rose to the occasion. His fiery delivery and passionate appeals at first rang false to listeners because he was so thoroughly articulate and persuasive. Moreover, using his better judgment, Douglass chose not to reveal many particulars of his enslavement and escape fearing that to do so would bring vengeance upon slaves and fugitives alike. But when Frederick Douglass began to explain why he could not be so free with particulars, most audiences understood and waited. They were not to be disappointed.

In 1845, Douglass published the first of three autobiographies detailing his experiences as a slave in muted prose that revealed the malevolence of slavery. The effect was so sensational that Douglass had to flee to England for safety. While there, Douglass gained a grand education. He did not attend any formal school, but in two years, he was exposed to some of the greatest minds in Britain and the world. His presence was so inspiring that a group of women purchased his freedom and presented him with this “gift” as he was preparing to return to the United States in 1846.



*Frederick Douglass, c1879. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

As Frederick Douglass found his voice, the Liberty Bell lost hers. In February, 1846, while ringing for George Washington’s birthday, a zigzag crack appeared in the bell and her sound faded into history. But the former slave from Tuckahoe Creek began publishing his own newspaper, the *North Star*, which was unceasing in its opposition to slavery.

From this point, Douglass grew increasingly powerful as a voice against slavery and for freedom and equality. In 1855, he published a second autobiography, *My Bondage, My Freedom*, and in 1857, Douglass condemned the Dred Scott decision and called for political resistance to it. When the Civil War began, he called for the use of black troops in the Union army and argued that the Civil War must result in freedom and racial equality. He took this message of liberty and equality to the White House and nine Presidents ranging from Abraham Lincoln to Grover Cleveland. After the war, he continued to demand political rights for the freedmen and held numerous governmental posts.

The fitting conclusion to this tale is an encounter Douglass had sometime after he was appointed United

States Marshal for Washington, DC. He decided to pay a visit to his former master who lay dying of old age on his bed. As Douglass approached, Captain Anthony raised up slightly as if to stand, softly took Douglass' hand and saluted him with a feeble, "Marshall Douglass!" Frederick quietly replied, "Why don't you call me after the name of my youth, Frederick," at which point they sat to have what must have been a fascinating conversation. It is not clear if this is the first time a former master met a former slave when the station of rank had so clearly reversed. What is clear is that the call for freedom had been heard across the land, and one of the tongues manipulating the forces that "let that freedom ring" was Frederick Douglass.

Like the great Liberty Bell, the voice of Frederick Douglass was silenced in 1895 after what can only be described as a monumental career. He died at the age of 77, after writing three autobiographies; publishing four newspapers; serving as a United States Marshal, Recorder of Deeds, Minister to Haiti, Consul General to the Dominican Republic; and being an advisor to presidents. What led him to this height was his tenacious commitment to "see things that never were and ask, why not."

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### Meet Bill Grimmette (Frederick Douglass)

Bill Grimmette is a living history interpreter, storyteller, actor, and motivational speaker who has performed throughout the United States and abroad. He has researched and performed the characters of Estevanico, Augustus Washington, Benjamin Banneker, Frederick Douglass, and W. E. B. DuBois. He has appeared at the Smithsonian Institution and on National Public Radio. He has an MA in psychology from the Catholic University of America, and has done post graduate work in education at George Mason University. Grimmette has portrayed W. E. B. DuBois and Benjamin Banneker at previous Maryland Humanities Council Chautauquas.



## Timeline: Frederick Douglass

- 1818 Born as a slave at Holme Hill Farm, Talbot County, Maryland; named Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey.
- 1836–38 Worked in Baltimore shipyards as a caulker. Fell in love with Anna Murray, a free Black woman.
- 1838 Escaped from slavery and went to New York City. Married Anna Murray.
- 1841 Spoke to a meeting of the Bristol Anti-Slavery Society and became an agent for the Society traveling widely in the East and Midwest lecturing against slavery and campaigning for rights of free Blacks.
- 1845 Published the first of three autobiographies, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave*. Went to England to avoid recapture and to lecture on the American anti-slavery movement.
- 1846 Became legally free when British supporters purchased his freedom from Hugh Auld, his former master.
- 1847 Returned to the United States and moved to Rochester, New York, to publish a weekly newspaper, the *North Star*.
- 1848 Attended the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, and advocated for women's right to vote.
- 1850 Published an attack on the Compromise of 1850 and the new fugitive slave law.
- 1851 Changed name of *North Star* to *Frederick Douglass's Paper*. Helped fugitives from Maryland slavery escape to Canada as "Station Master" of the Rochester Underground Railroad.
- 1855 Wrote a second autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*.
- 1858 John Brown stayed at the Douglass home in Rochester while developing plans for encouraging a slave revolt.
- 1859 Escaped to Canada to avoid being arrested as an accomplice in John Brown's plan to seize Harper's Ferry; sailed to England.
- 1860 Returned to the United States upon hearing of the death of his eleven-year-old daughter, Annie.
- 1861 Called for the use of Black troops to fight the Confederacy through the establishment of Black regiments in the Union Army.
- 1863 Served as a recruiter for the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment. Visited President Lincoln to protest discrimination against Black troops.
- 1866 Attended convention of Equal Rights Association and clashed with women's rights leaders over their insistence that the vote not be extended to Black men unless it was given to all women at the same time.
- 1870 Became owner and editor of *The New National Era*, a weekly newspaper in Washington, DC.
- 1871 Appointed Assistant Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry into the possible annexation of Santo Domingo.
- 1872 Rochester home destroyed by fire. Moved his family to Washington, DC. Nominated for vice-president by Equal Rights Party on a ticket headed by Victoria Woodhull.
- 1874 Named president of Freedman's Savings and Trust Company.
- 1877 Appointed United States Marshall for the District of Columbia.
- 1878 Purchased "Cedar Hill" a nine acre estate in the Anacostia section of Washington, DC.
- 1881 Appointed Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia. Published a third autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.
- 1882 Anna Murray Douglass died.
- 1889 Appointed Chargé d'Affaires for Santo Domingo and Minister Resident and Consul-General to Haiti.
- 1895 Died at Cedar Hill.





# Susan B. Anthony

## Whirlwind of Reform

By Annette Baldwin

Eighty-six-year-old Susan B. Anthony lay dying in a narrow bedroom on the second floor of her Rochester, New York, home. Her sister Mary and Anna Howard Shaw, Anthony's close friend and president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), sat next to her listening to Anthony's faint voice murmuring the names in a long list of women who toiled with her in the fight for women's right to vote. Anthony once said, "I wish I could name every one." She was always as grateful as she was expectant of their participation. She called the suffragists who closely worked with her in the NAWSA and on state campaigns her "nieces." Besides these, there were the thousands of women across the nation who gathered petitions and spoke on street corners and in assembly halls. Their lives of domesticity and submissiveness were interrupted and forever changed by an unrelenting reformer in her quest to liberate nineteenth-century women from their "separate sphere."

Most Americans can easily recite the names of our nation's founding fathers, of Revolutionary War heroes, and of generals from the Civil War. However, in the battle of freedom as a universal birthright, fought by the suffrage women, just two names are generally recalled — Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Had Stanton not met Anthony on a street corner in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1851 and had these two women not forged a friendship and working relationship that spanned fifty years, Stanton's name, too, might be

**"Failure is impossible!"**



*Susan B. Anthony*

largely unknown. Together, they tirelessly worked for women's suffrage, a contest with dazzling tactics and strategy, political astuteness, unparalleled organization and leadership skills, fiery oratory, boundless energy and courage, and a passion for egalitarian principles.

In the nearly one hundred years since her death in 1906, Susan B. Anthony remains the embodiment of all these qualities. Although others initiated the battle for the vote and for women's equality, it is Anthony who is considered the "mother" of the women's movement. During her lifetime, Anthony, more than any other suffragist, captured the imagination of the American public. Our admiration continues to be stirred, our curiosity stimulated, our choices inspired by Anthony's courage and tenacity. We do not know her as a woman of warmth and tenderness,

even a woman of style, for the pens of late nineteenth century cartoonists have created a portrait of a glaring, unattractive, angry female. Could this be an accurate portrait of the person Gertrude Stein crowned the "mother of us all?"

Susan B. Anthony was the daughter of a Massachusetts Quaker farmer, who by marrying "out of meeting" to a Baptist woman, displayed an independence that his daughter later inherited. Although the usual childhood amusements were barred from the Anthony home, Daniel Anthony was a loving, generous parent who promoted self-worth, education, and principled convictions. Susan's mother was shy and emotionally withdrawn. Surely Anthony, as she spoke of "woman's own individual happiness" carried with her the image of her mother, who bore eight children, boarded eleven mill girls, and tended to never-ending chores. Throughout her adult life Anthony considered herself a Quaker but was really more comfortable with the Unitarian commitment to humanistic concerns and individual responsibility.

Anthony was attending Deborah Moulson's Female Seminary in Pennsylvania when her father's mills went bankrupt during the Panic of 1837, and she returned to the Anthony home. In 1839, at the age of nineteen, she took her first teaching position, beginning a lifetime of self-support. She would ever hold the belief that a woman working for her own wages was an improved condition over reliance on the beneficence of a husband, as it was her "doctrine that the first

*"The Apotheosis of Suffrage" by George Y. Coffin. Published in the Washington Post, January 26, 1896. Washington is flanked by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The females on the sides have sashes reading "Wyoming" and "Utah" — states that had given women the right to vote. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

step for the alleviation of their [women's] oppression is to secure to them pecuniary independence."

Like many women in early nineteenth-century New England, Anthony was interested in the various reform movements of the time. She was approaching the eve of her maiden speech for temperance reform when Elizabeth Cady Stanton presented a right-to-vote resolution at the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. It would be three years before Anthony was introduced to Stanton, the woman who, she claimed, "liberated the feminist in me." Anthony, however, was still directing her energies to finding a consciousness that would order her existence.

At twenty-six Anthony became a headmistress at the Canajoharie Academy. Teaching tested her shaky self-confidence, but as she gained further trust in her abilities she felt less challenged, and life itself seemed a bore. In longing to discover the great design for her life, Anthony was no exception to other intelligent, educated, energetic young women of the period. "I believe our happiness is increased by yielding momentary self-gratification and doing all in our power to render others happy," she wrote her brother. By agitating for temperance, and subsequently abolition and women's rights, the powers trapped inside her were freed, and she was launched on a journey of reform.

Marriage was not in Anthony's future; she seemed to have had no genuine interest in "this social



institution." She was pleased by how the new clothing she had purchased with her own earnings improved her personal appearance, and she was capturing the attention of Canajoharie Academy's young men, who desired her company for social activities. But for Anthony, marriage meant being a "housekeeper and drudge" or a "pet and doll." Increasingly, reform-minded women became the emotional center of her life.

Until the Civil War, Anthony organized and petitioned, traveled and lectured simultaneously as an advocate for abolition and women's rights. In the aftermath of the war, Anthony and Stanton and other "radical" supporters of women's suffrage clashed with key abolitionists over the Fourteenth Amendment, which would introduce "male" into the Constitution when defining voting rights. Animosity between the various reform organizations grew, particularly those formed by Anthony and Stanton. When the proposed Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied . . . on

account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," but not sex, the split was complete. Leading abolitionists slurred and vilified Anthony, and she faced organized attempts at defamation.

Additionally, the suffragists themselves could not agree on the best method to attain women's enfranchisement. In spring 1869, Anthony and Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association, creating an agenda that supported a Constitutional amendment for women's suffrage. At the end of the year, Lucy Stone and her lieutenants organized the American Woman Suffrage Association to gain suffrage in state-by-state referenda. It was not until 1890 that the two organizations would merge and become the National American Woman Suffrage Association. As the combined organization carved out its plans for state-by-state campaigns with the ultimate goal of a Constitutional amendment, the differences between Stanton's and Anthony's political philosophies became obvious. Anthony wanted to keep women's



suffrage free from other movements, while Stanton believed a larger feminist agenda was the only path to complete political freedom. The aging Anthony was also busy in her search for a successor. Her great reform was still undone, and so the mission had to be passed to one of the younger women in the NAWSA.

Susan B. Anthony forged ahead on risky missions during her entire life and chided the fearful along her way: "Cautious, careful people, always casting about to preserve their reputations . . . can never effect a reform." Fame and a "good" reputation were not her concern. She immersed herself in the task of mobilizing the nation's women to "urge on this vast work of reform."

When others insisted that "the cause" should be put on hold, when they were guarded about its potential to effect a radical change, and when Anthony herself realized that she would not live to see her dream of enfranchisement for women, she trudged on, ever in action, or as she liked to declare, "always progressing."

After fifty years of campaigning for women's suffrage, the result was enfranchisement for women in only four states: Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah. But Anthony was not discouraged; her final thoughts contained no bitterness over the slow advancement of equality of rights. She was remembering the work, always the work, and the women. "I know the sacrifices they have made."

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### Meet Annette Baldwin (Susan B. Anthony)

Annette Baldwin has researched and performed first-person historical portrayals of women for seventeen years. Her performances, in-character speeches, and Readers Theatre productions have been seen nationally. Her portrayal of Jane Addams was presented at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. Ms. Baldwin has traveled with the Heartland Chautauqua as Civil War spy Elizabeth Van Lew and as fashion designer Coco Chanel and with the New Hampshire Chautauqua as Susan B. Anthony. This summer she will appear as Chanel during the Colorado Chautauqua, at Greeley.



## Timeline: Susan B. Anthony

- 1820 Born on February 15 to Daniel and Lucy Read Anthony, near Adams, Massachusetts.
- 1846 Accepted appointment as headmistress of the Female Department of the Canajoharie Academy, giving up her Quaker speech and dress.
- 1848 The first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, passed a resolution calling for women's right to vote.
- 1849 Made first public address as president of Canajoharie Daughters of Temperance. Resigned position at Academy and returned to family farm near Rochester, New York, but continued to work for temperance.
- 1851 Met Elizabeth Cady Stanton while visiting Seneca Falls.
- 1852 Founded Women's State Temperance Society and attended her first women's rights convention.
- 1854 Organized statewide petition effort for expanding New York state's Married Women's Property Law of 1848.
- 1856 Accepted position as New York general agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS).
- 1861 Faced jeering, violent crowds in New York while advocating "No Compromise with Slaveholders."
- 1863 Established, with Stanton, the Woman's National Loyal League which protested the lack of protection for African Americans in the Emancipation Proclamation.
- 1866 Formed, with Stanton, the American Equal Rights Association.
- 1868 Published *The Revolution*, a newspaper calling for reform, and organized Working Women's Association.
- 1869 Founded, with Stanton, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), dedicated to ratification of a Sixteenth Amendment dealing with women's suffrage. Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe founded the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which concentrated on gaining state-by-state suffrage.
- 1872 Arrested for voting in November presidential election. Stood trial in 1873 and was convicted of "illegal voting."
- 1876 Marched into Independence Hall during Philadelphia Centennial Exposition July Fourth celebration and delivered "Declaration of the Rights of Women."
- 1878 Women's suffrage amendment introduced in Congress but not voted on in the Senate until 1887.
- 1881 Published first volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, compiled with Stanton and Matilda Joselyn Gage.
- 1890 AWSA merged with the NWSA to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).
- 1891 Established permanent home in Rochester with her sister Mary.
- 1892 Elected president of NAWSA.
- 1900 Resigned as president of NAWSA.
- 1906 Made final speech at NAWSA convention in Baltimore on February 13. Died on March 13 in Rochester.
- 1920 The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing women their right to vote, became law.



# Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms

## Words That Fought a War and Helped Shape a Peace

By Ed Beardsley

In 1920, Franklin Delano Roosevelt made his first run for national office as the Democratic nominee for Vice President. The ticket, headed by James Cox, ran on a platform of continuing Woodrow Wilson's Progressive ideals and international involvement. Under Wilson, the United States had entered World War I to make the world "safe for democracy," and Wilson had pushed for the League of Nations as an international body to resolve future disputes among member states.

The American electorate, though, had had enough of Progressive politics both at home and abroad. The Republican nominee, Warren G. Harding, and his promise of a "Return to Normalcy," carried the election. Twelve years later — when conditions were anything but "normal" — Franklin Delano Roosevelt was swept into the White House.

Franklin Roosevelt quickly became known and celebrated for words — words that gave men and women hope in dark times and inspired them with a just and humane purpose. Many of them, crafted by speech-writers like Bob Sherwood (thrice a Pulitzer winner) and long-time associate, Judge Sam Rosenman, are firmly lodged in the national memory: "the only thing we have to fear is fear, itself," "this nation has a rendezvous with destiny," and "yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy" would make everyone's short list.

But no words gave more hope and purpose — or exerted greater

influence on the world — than the ringing peroration to his January 1941 State of the Union address. With much of the world conquered by a surging Nazi-fascist coalition, with struggling Britain overmatched, Roosevelt dared proclaim that "in future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded on four essential human freedoms." Then he listed them: "freedom of speech and expression" "freedom to worship God," "freedom from want," and "freedom from fear [of war]"; translated them in "World terms"; and proclaimed their advent "everywhere in the World."

The main purpose of that message, which was quickly christened the "Four Freedoms Speech," was to secure passage of Lend-Lease, a program of massive military aid to Britain. The freedoms statement, crafted as an add-on only days before, aimed at giving Lend-Lease high and humane purpose and justifying to war-averse Americans a step that would only push them closer to it.

But the four freedoms were no mere momentary embellishment. Roosevelt had reflected deeply on America's basic ideals — and their value to an embattled world. Moreover, the peroration was his creation: at a June, 1940, press conference, a reporter wondered how he would, if he could, shape the peace at war's end. "We have a program," Roosevelt answered, "the elimination of four fears," the first, fear of not being able to worship God, and the others, apprehensions over expression, war, and economic stagnation.

By July, these negative "fears" had become positive freedoms. Responding to another press query, Roosevelt lectured that there were "certain freedoms" that were essential to peace, and he cited four: freedom of religion, freedom of information, freedom to express ourselves, and freedom from fear. Reporter Richard Harkness suggested a fifth, "freedom from want." FDR instantly agreed: "I had that in mind but forgot it. . . . That is the fifth, certainly." So by the January proclamation, he had not only given serious thought to peace aims but compressed his freedoms to four.

More important than origin and authorship, however, was the fact that someone was finally proclaiming an ideology of hope — of a peaceful world encouraging religious liberty, openness, and material progress — to challenge Hitler's theory of slave races and super-races. Britain's Prime Minister Churchill had unceasingly vilified the Nazis and rallied Britons to endure "blood, toil, tears, and sweat." But he was silent on peace aims. Certainly Roosevelt enjoyed the luxury of reflection without the Nazis at his throat; but, equally, he understood the importance of ideals and spiritual values in moving men. As he told speechwriter and poet Archibald MacLeish, preserving democracy demanded that "we muster the spirit of America and the faith of America."

With the possible exception of Lincoln, no president did that better. Close aide Harry Hopkins knew why. Following one of FDR's





*Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

frequent assertions of his peace aims, Hopkins told Bob Sherwood: "You and I are for Roosevelt because he's a great spiritual figure, because he's an idealist. Yes, he sometimes might appear tough and cynical and flippant. But that's not the real Roosevelt. You can see the real Roosevelt when he comes out with something like the four freedoms." Furthermore, "He believes them!" To threatened and conquered peoples in 1941, idealism was as vital as men and munitions.

Whether or not Rooseveltian idealism actually emboldened those millions — and eventually Americans — to work, fight, and resist more vigorously, two things seemed clear. First, FDR's ideals made him an almost mythical figure: no one, said the *New York Times*, rivaled his "great prestige and personal following among the [world's] plain people." Second, those people, especially in conquered nations, found hope in Roosevelt's oft-proclaimed peace goals. As a Swiss paper put it, the freedoms speech

took "the wind from the sails of a totalitarian propaganda." Nazis saw social freedom as the "right of master races, alone." Roosevelt "will help the masses without regard to geographical borders or racial differences."

But if the four freedoms offered hope, they had little power to shape the peace Roosevelt desired. To realist critics of Rooseveltian internationalism the difficulty was that FDR's freedoms rested on an illusion. "In order to give these freedoms to everybody — everywhere in the world," the living standard of the entire globe must be raised, a visionary proposition.

Roosevelt's isolationist opponents were equally scornful, mostly because they wanted no part of an international organization, which by 1943 was re-emerging as a mechanism for implementing FDR's freedoms. As in 1919, isolationists worried over threats to national sovereignty. Republican Bob Taft, their leader, was blunt: "We did not

take up arms to establish liberty all over the world."

The four freedoms lost potency, however, not because they were visionary — a "pretty picture" by "international dreamers and schemers," quipped one conservative — but because the Allied coalition hid deep-seated contradictions. Taft voiced the problem early: "This is not," he cautioned, "a war of democracies against dictatorships." Indeed, the war's final months revealed that the "democratic" Soviet Union wanted no part of freedom of religion or expression — or even collective security. What it wanted was to dominate Eastern Europe (contradicting the Atlantic Charter's promise of self-determination for all peoples) and to spread communism by exploiting Europe's economic disarray. Britain was equally determined to preserve her empire, holding onto her colonies and continuing commonwealth trade exclusions. By 1945 internationalists despaired as 1941's dreams collapsed. Wisconsin senator Bob LaFollette, Jr., voiced the discontent over Russian and British unilateralism: "Why is there so little of the four freedoms, and so much of the Four Horsemen of power politics . . . in every result so far?"

Even FDR seemed to lose heart. Though this most practical of idealists knew that world change would come only slowly and face devilish problems, near the war's — and his life's — end, his ebullience was flagging. In his last January message to Congress, he admitted "It will not be easy to create this



people's peace . . . . Peace brings problems, and we delude ourselves if we believe wishfully that . . . [world] problems can be solved overnight." In fact, those problems — including war, poverty, suppression of opinion, and punishment for belief — still elude solution.

But that did not mean Rooseveltian idealism wielded no influence. The very creation of the United Nations Organization fundamentally grew out of the "Four Freedoms Speech," for persistent drumming of those peace goals into the world's consciousness ultimately required a structure to implement them. Following FDR's address, Secretary of State Cordell Hull initiated international organizational planning along the lines of FDR's freedoms. Moreover, specific international programs — like the Relief and Rehabilitation Agency — also showed the presidential imprint. But surely the most direct connections were those linking the four freedoms to the historic United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, accepted by its General Assembly (with the Soviet Union abstaining) in 1948. This document included and elaborated all of FDR's freedoms but one — freedom from fear was covered by United Nations collective security accords. Its ratification and substance were substantially, and fittingly, due to the efforts of FDR's wartime partner, Eleanor Roosevelt.

\* \* \*

Historian James M. Burns, who saw FDR as part realist, part idealist, concluded that Roosevelt was "in all the symbolic and ironic sense of the term, a soldier of freedom." To Churchill, it was the idealist who principally appealed, and he deemed FDR "the greatest . . . champion of freedom who has ever brought help and comfort from the New World to the Old." But it is appropriate, surely, to give the man of words the last one. "I would rather," Roosevelt said in mid-war, "be a builder than a wrecker, hoping always that the structure of life is growing . . . not dying." One could have no better marker of the wellspring of Rooseveltian idealism than this.

#### Suggested Readings

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<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/4545/> [extensive list of sites on FDR and the New Deal]

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/wwii.htm> [wide array of materials bearing on World War II and Roosevelt's leadership]



#### Meet Ed Beardsley (Franklin Delano Roosevelt)

Ed Beardsley is a veteran of thirty-two years of teaching United States history at the University of South Carolina. He has published three books and twenty articles on the history of American medicine and science, and in the classroom he has received several university-wide teaching awards. Beginning in the 1980s, Beardsley wrote and produced a number of one-man shows — including Benjamin Franklin, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt — which he performed both for his classes as well as for adult and student groups in twenty states. Trained originally as a chemical engineer, Beardsley turned to American history, in which he earned a PhD from the University of Wisconsin.

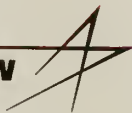
## Timeline: Franklin Delano Roosevelt

- 1882 Born on January 30 in Hyde Park, New York.
- 1900 Entered Harvard University.
- 1905 Married his distant cousin, Eleanor Roosevelt, who was the niece of President Theodore Roosevelt.
- 1910 Elected to the New York Senate in first attempt to win elective office.
- 1913 Appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the Woodrow Wilson administration.
- 1919 Attended the peace conference at Versailles, which ended World War I.
- 1920 Ran for vice-president on ticket with presidential candidate James Cox. This was FDR's first and only electoral defeat.
- 1921 Stricken with poliomyelitis.
- 1924 Nominated Al Smith at Democratic national convention, signaling FDR's re-emergence in national politics.
- 1928 Elected governor of New York.
- 1929 Stock market crashed, starting the Great Depression.
- 1932 Elected President of the United States.
- 1933 Called Congress into special session. During his first "100 days," Congress passed fifteen major laws to start New Deal.
- 1935 Pushed new round of reform legislation, "Second New Deal," which included the Social Security Act, National Labor Relations Act, Rural Electrification Act, and creation of the Works Progress Administration.
- 1936 Re-elected President, with greatest popular majority in history.
- 1939 War began in Europe when Germany invaded Poland. "Cash and Carry" export of arms to World War II belligerents.
- 1940 Sent destroyers to Britain for bases in Caribbean.
- 1940 Re-elected President for an unprecedented third term.
- 1941 Gave "Four Freedoms" speech as part of his annual message to Congress. Lend-Lease Act passed, sending massive military aid to Britain. Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7 and the United States entered World War II.
- 1944 Re-elected President for a fourth term.
- 1945 Died at Warm Springs, Georgia, on April 12. War ended in Europe on May 8 and in the Pacific on August 14.



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